WAR & PEACE

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

10 cents

Vol. 6, No. 30 NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 17, 1954

War drive slowed but peril persists

By Tabitha Petran

IN the wake of its H-bomb achievement, the fall of Dienbienphu and U. S. isolation at Geneva, Washington's policy of strength faced its severest crisis. Administration efforts to paint its allies as again united, its "leadership" restored, could not hide these basic dilemmas:

- U. S. policy toward China threatens to split "the West" to a point where real choices must soon be made.
- The very achievement of the H-bomb has "undermined and repelled the alliance . . . contributed to the deterioration of the Western position" (Joseph Harsch, **Christian Science Monitor**, 5/1, 6).
- In face of recent boasts that it could ignore "uninformed public opinion" (Vice-President Nixon's GI's-for-Indo China speech), the Administration —for the moment at least—has been brought up short by the fact that

". . . neither the American public nor Congress nor the British public nor Parliament wants to go to war in Indo-China" (Ludwell Denny, **N. Y. World-Telegram**, 5/5).

"TOTALLY MISDIRECTED": A big factor in Britain's rejection of Secy. Dulles' Indo-China war plan was fear that it would lead to war with China.

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London
"It came to pieces in my hands, boss!"

British alarm about powerful U. S. figures who believe the Peking regime must be overthrown "to prevent industrialization and military development that have made Soviet Russia one of the world's great powers" was underscored by Marquis Childs (**N. Y. Post**, 5/6, 9). He attributed the West's differences at Geneva to the belief of most U. S. allies in Europe and Asia that Peking must be recognized. Every allied delegation at Geneva holds (**CSM**, 5/6) that "American policy toward Communist China . . . is totally misdirected and requires forthright reappraisal from the ground up." In Washington's embassies, as at Geneva, there was strong criticism of Dulles' "particular exhibition of chauvinism" in refusing even to talk to the Chinese delegation and of U. S. disinterest in learning anything about China from experts in allied delegations (**CSM**, 5/5).

Since the British are definitely "not going to reopen [the Chinese Civil war] to accommodate Sen. Knowland," Dulles would have to "modify his objective" (Reston, **N. Y. Times**, 5/9). But this Dulles, Joint Chiefs chairman Radford, Nixon, Knowland and the other Washington drum-beaters are not prepared to do. Generally they share Anne McCormick's belief (**NYT**, 5/9) that "in the showdown" Britain and France "are bound to co-operate with Washington." They envisage U. S. intervention without active aid of major allies, if necessary. In his report on Geneva, Dulles said the U. S. would not intervene except in unity with "other free nations"—but for him this term includes S. Korea and Formosa. He returned to Washington (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 5/6), still convinced that direct intervention is preferable to Viet Minh victory, with the question of

". . . whether the precondition includes action by U. S. allies including Britain . . . under reconsideration."

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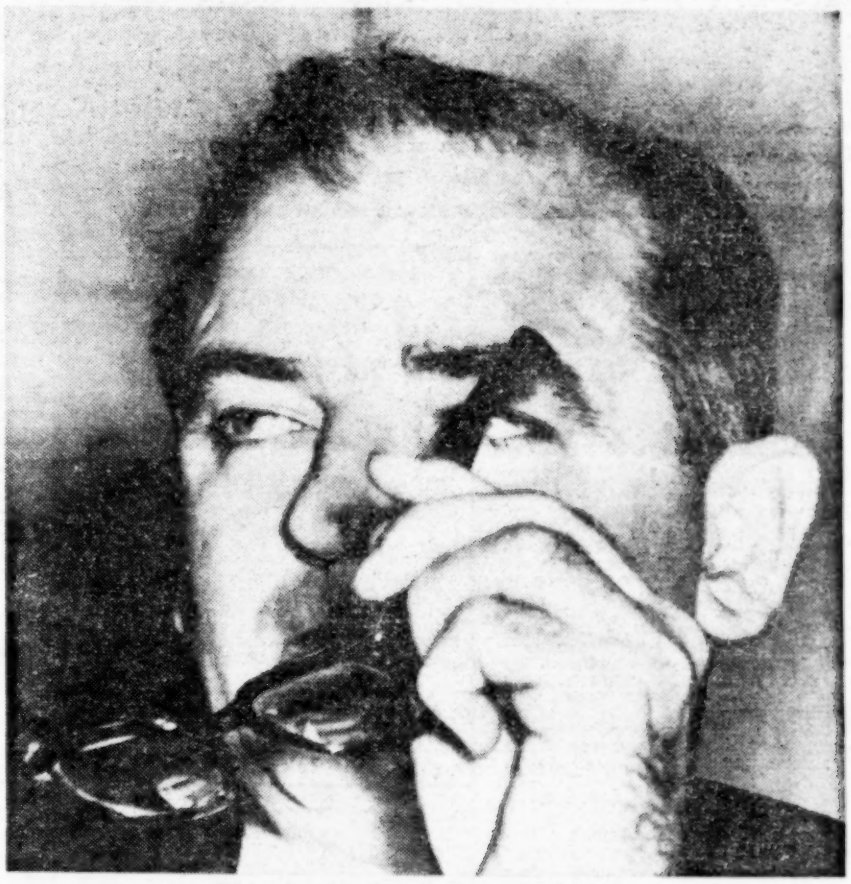

This is National Nausea Month

The familiar fish-eye of Joe McCarthy has pervaded every unoffending household in the nation for weeks via radio, TV and the press—and there's no telling how long the agonizing appraisal of cesspool politics will go on. If national revulsion results, the Army-McCarthy hearings will have been worthwhile. For our part we are revolted at the spectacle of deep moral and political corruption on all sides—a corruption based on the Big Lie of "communist conspiracy," which all parties to the hassle accept with the unchallengeability of Holy Writ.

A third party — or even a second

By W. E. B. DuBois

TIRED of this mess? Of course. What can you do about it? Vote, in a free election. What's good for Korea is good for us.

Yet why do less than half our voters even try to vote in big elections and a handful in ordinary elections? Why do those who vote grin at each other like the augurs of falling Rome? You know. Elections imply choice between at least two alternatives.

Think of our coming Fall elections: what real choice is there between Truman and his Charlie Stevenson McCarthy, and Eisenhower and his Joe? You had no chance to vote on Hiroshima and war in Korea. Draft, graft, hate and fear were the Truman policy. Eisenhower has not yet made peace in Korea. He removed the fleet to egg on Formosa to attack China; he tried to buy revolt in Eastern Europe for $100,000,000 and beat the drums furiously to greet it. He boasted and bluffed for war in Indo-China until your letters scared him. His administration is the same theft, fear and witch-hunting as Truman's. What choice lies here?

WHAT is it this nation wants? Peace, Honesty, Manners, and enough to live on decently. Why can we not vote this program into truth? We know perfectly well that there has been in this nation no plot violently to overthrow our government except recent decisions of the Supreme Court. We know that communism is not a conspiracy and communists are not criminals. Some of the greatest men of our era have taught us this, like Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb and H. G. Wells. We can always punish real conspiracy and stop actual crime; but we cannot by yelling and swearing compel 800 million people to give up the kind of government they choose. When they want change they'll tell us.

We need not think that Asia believes America is breaking its heart with love for Chinese. Asia knows full well that what we love is the kind of money Herbert Hoover used to make on cheap coolie labor. We are fools to think that the Russian people believe we are torn with pity for them. They know well that we don't care a damn whether they are Communists or Presbyterians if only we can treat them as we treat South Americans. What we fear is that communism may succeed in conquering poverty, ignorance and disease, while our way of life fails.

We have got to live in a world which does not like us nor our ways. Such co-existence calls for manners. You cannot call a man a skunk and invite him to dinner. It makes no sense to have the "greatest secretary of state" in Eisenhower's notoriously poor memory pout like a child at a world conference and refuse even to look at the representative of 500 million human beings.

WE'VE got a job to do and it's right here and not in Europe nor Asia. We have got to stop stealing; not simply among children but by Big Business. Every President of the United States, until Big Business named its own Presidents, has warned us of the growing power of wealth in monopolized industry. It taxes us unfairly and cheats us in commerce. Spying is not a threat to our government but lying and stealing are. We spend fabulous sums on war and pittances on education, old age security, housing, social medicine, flood control and cheap transportation. With the co-operation of their own leaders, we are trying to ruin trade unions.

What we want is Peace and Honesty and a decent life. This we must have or perish. Why don't we choose to get it and by democratic methods? Because our elections are not free; we have no real choice.

SO you can't vote against War and Graft. You can't vote against McCarthy's Monkey-Shines, because the great man in the White House is playing golf and your only choice is the man who taught him his tricks.

Or you think you can't. But is this true? Are Americans thus reduced to impotence? Haven't we got the guts to insist on the right to choose between Trueisenhowerism and Progress, even if we dare not vote for it? Can we not compel Ohio and Illinois to list Progressive Party candidates on the ballot, and can't we make our appeal to America even in the face of a prostitute press whoring after cash, not Truth?

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This is the season to renew

If your address-plate on p. 1 (reverse of this box) reads May, 1954 (5-54) or earlier, your sub is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

TO RENEW, CLIP THIS BOX, MAIL WITH $3 FOR ONE YEAR

- Be sure to check your address-plate on page 1 for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose $3 and mail to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

IT WAS OSBERT

The GUARDIAN May 3 ran on p. 1 a few lines of free verse under the title "A Western Diplomat at Geneva,'" offered a prize to the first reader identifying the British author who wrote the lines 35 years ago.

E. M. Forster, Lewis Carroll (died 1897) and Winston Churchill were among guesses offered by readers. Correct answer: Osbert Sitwell, in his volume of verse called **The Winstonberg Line.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 6, No. 30 — 178 — MAY 17, 1954

"Do what you will but speak out always. Be shunned, be hated, be ridiculed, be scared, be in doubt, but don't be gagged."—JOHN JAY CHAPMAN.

THE MAIL BAG

American century?

LANCASTER, CALIF.

The report of Virgil Johnson's speech given to the Investment Bankers Assn. in 1940 seems to me to be about the hottest expose to come off the press at any time. That report alone is worth the price of a year's subscription. This should be printed in leaflet form so that it can be distributed by the millions. If we could only get this into the hands of enough people it alone might be able to arouse great enough numbers to demand settlement of international friction before it is too late. **P. E. R.**

John Foster's burden

PROVO, UTAH

The article, "Is This What Americans Must Die for in Indo-China" (GUARDIAN, 4/26), is very informative. I have heard something along the same line from a young man who claimed that fate had placed the responsibility upon us to rule the world; that Rome ruled the world for 1,000 years, Britain for 500 years and now we were destined to rule it for centuries to come. He claimed such was the fixed foreign policy which would be carried out, Constitution or no Constitution. Your article is the first authentic information I have had as to where that young lawyer perhaps got his ideas. **E. A. Mitchell**

Hide the matches

BERKELEY, CALIF.

I have just mailed the following letter to President Eisenhower:

"Dr. Mr. President: Would it be asking too much to request that that global incendiary who masquerades as Secy. of State for the U. S. be kept home and his trap shut? He is about as conducive to peace in the world as an overgrown adolescent bully with some blockbusters would be to the tranquility of a neighborhood. No wonder that every statesman in the world — except Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and Germany's Nazis—sees McCarthy when they look toward Washington. The above gentlemen are sure they see their own image. I want sanity, negotiation and peace."

William Reynolds

How crazy can you get dept.

A retired Springfield physician has received a letter of gratitude from President Eisenhower for a brief composition on "What Golf and Its Four V's Mean to Ike." . . . "Holding the golf club in the left hand, his left thumb and forefinger form a V which points to his right shoulder for Victory of the American people. . . . His right hand, with the little finger overlapping to give co-ordination, forms a second V pointing to his left shoulder for Victory in assisting the many countries of the world." The third V is formed . . . when he cocks his left wrist pointing toward Heaven and at the same time the fourth V pointing to the ground. . . .

—Springfield (Mass.) Daily News, April 27.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: J. P. Taugher, Springfield.

Faith in America

LONDON, ENGLAND

I am enclosing a check for my subscription for TWO YEARS. It is a grand paper, in the best American tradition, and I read everything in it, including the ads, especially the letters. **C. T. Hallinan**

Rocks of opportunism

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thanks for the tremendous service done the progressive cause thru the publication of Tabitha Petran's solid article, "The Real Forces Behind McCarthyism." Long needed! Should be read and re-read by most of us, lest we drift with the tide in a meaningless crusade and flounder on the rocks of Democratic opportunism.

Particularly should we fasten our attention on the final paragraph of that article:

"That these very same financial groups [the groups with the Big Money who made McCarthy] staffed the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations, control the GOP and the leadership of the Democratic Party, underlines the fact that McCarthyism is the logical development of their policies, reaching a new phase. It also points to the fact that these policies will have to be fought for what they are—the program of the top financial groups—in whatever guise presented, and whatever happens to McCarthy."

Beware the Greeks bearing gifts.

Reuben W. Borough

People vs. Parasites

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

I am following with interest the development of your national movement for a real progressive political party. As a foundation member of the British Labour Party, I trust it will not be considered impertinent to offer a few suggestions:

To effect any fundamental alteration in the trend of human affairs in your country it is essential to realize the unbridgable cleavage between the interests of the People and the Parasites. There can be no compromise between the two. This means Class War; any action by the People to increase their share of the wealth they produce must be at the Parasites' expense.

Do not boggle at this fundamental fact, nor fear the inevitable denunciation of your enemies. Naturally, they do not want Class War, for it means obliteration to them as Parasites; what they want is the perpetuation of Class Domination, which ensures them all the benefits of material progress and leaves the others on the breadline.

Having adopted a policy based upon this realistic appraisal, stick to it; educate your following so that their support will be intelligent rather than sentimental. And, above all, keep the careerists and job snatchers out of your inner councils, or they will ruin the movement, as they have done in Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain. **John W. Barraclough**

Wallace's Farmer & Iowa Homestead

"Just look at these bills! Rent, light, heat, taxes! We've got to stop this wild spending."

Timber!

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Squirrel were romping through the woods.

Mr. Squirrel: "Mr. Rabbit, you're in for a bad time today! McCarthy's coming kangaroo hunting in these here woods."

Mr. Rabbit: "But, Mr. Squirrel, I ain't no kangaroo!"

Mr. Squirrel: "No, Mr. Rabbit! But can you prove it?"

Heard in the woods by **Walter Backmer**

In a major key

CHICAGO, ILL.

A group of people, mostly musicians, have been meeting for educational and social purposes. We tax ourselves a little each time and send the money to a worthy cause. We are enclosing $25 for your wonderful paper. Our reasons are that generally speaking the GUARDIAN gives us information we could get nowhere else and specifically because we appreciate the help you can give the Rosenberg children.

C. T. P.

Have you written your Congressmen on Indo-China? Do it today!

The Army "undesirables"

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As "one American soul" of John R. Cormier's letter in the April 10 GUARDIAN, I have had a very personal brush with McCarthy—involving his "expose" and subsequent fight with the Army. My husband was given an Undesirable Discharge from the Army just six days after McCarthy had charged the military with coddling "subversives." Prior to this, so-called "subversives" received general discharges under honorable conditions, receiving benefits, etc. Under the undesirable discharge benefits such as mustering out pay, accrued leave pay, etc., are eliminated. The result most immediately felt is the inability to get a job.

The allegations or reasons in my husband's case were: my participation in Peace Clubs prior to his induction; a relative's (on my side) membership in the Communist Party when my husband was 11 years old—eight years before he even met me; alleged discussions with undisclosed persons.

Naturally we are appealing the discharge. But we know that an appeal will be useless unless the American people know about the Army's present McCarthyite policy.

This policy seems clear: under the guise of "ridding the Army of 'dangerous subversives'" the McCarthyites hope to frighten the youth into silence and into accepting war as a solution to their problems.

UP reports the Air Force has discharged 78 men and the Navy 25 for just such "activities" since 1950, the Army many more. In the future such discharges will forfeit GI rights and benefits which they are legitimately entitled to; in addition, they are stigmatized for life as "Undesirable."

The policy is a direct attack on the civil rights of civilians as well. If you know one of these "Undesirables," you can be attacked. If one of these persons joins an organization, be it the YMCA or the PTA, that organization can be attacked. **Virginia Cannon**

No. 10 envelope

JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

A suggested way to disseminate extra copies of the GUARDIAN: When paying bills or ordinary supplies by mail, use a No. 10 envelope and just stick a GUARDIAN in for enclosure. **Erwin Seeman**

REPORT TO READERS

Summer's comin'!

WE DEVOTED THIS SPACE last week to introducing our Amnesty campaign, so we give you now a belated but, we think, healthy report on GUARDIAN business for April.

In April we added 987 new readers in our drive for $1 introductory subscribers. This brings our March-April total to 2,099 since the drive started. Of this figure, our Buck-of-the-Month sustainers have been responsible for 1,200 of the new subscribers.

In addition, our March-April renewals totaled 3,719, April topping March by 55. This figure does not include our Buck-of-the-Month sustainers, whose renewals are covered by their monthly pledge payments.

ALL IN ALL in the first four months of 1954, our renewals and new readers come to around 15,000—a figure which seems headed for a pretty hefty annual total until you stop and realize that the summer is just ahead, when everybody seems to take time out except outfits meeting deadlines, like the GUARDIAN.

With the job our Buck-of-the-Month sustainers are now doing on new membership—and with what you can do if you're not already doing something—this summer can be different. We propose to keep the March-April average of 1,000 new readers a month going straight through to September. We think it can be done.

The easy way to help in this is to join our Buck-of-the-Month Club NOW. You'll get a monthly reminder, and a monthly invitation to make every dollar count by sending along with it the name of a friend to receive an introductory sub. Furthermore, your renewal will be covered by your pledge—and every pledger we've had a chance to talk to tells us this Buck-of-the-Month procedure is as easy as rolling off a log.

It's a lot easier, certainly, than trying **not** to roll off a log.

Can we count on you? Entry blank below:

Sign me up for a Buck a Month and send me a reminder for June. I understand this covers my renewal for a full year. I'll try to send $1 and a new subscriber every month throughout the summer.

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HOW SECRET ARE THE FBI "JUNK" FILES?

The Hoover-McCarthy axis at work

By Eugene Gordon

The idea of the FBI being a detached research organization is, of course, not altogether realistic.—Economist, London.

IN 1948 President Truman directed that the FBI refer to him all requests to see its files. President Eisenhower last March 24 told his news conference Truman's directive still operated. The files were "inviolate"; but he did not say whether he considered them violated when Congressional committee "researchers"—mainly ex-FBI agents or agents "on loan"—dipped into them.

A few days later one of J. Edgar Hoover's Little Rock agents was shocked when he asked Arkansas Sen. J. William Fulbright for information about a lawyer hired in the State Dept.—whom Fulbright didn't know—and the Senator would not co-operate. He explained to newsmen that if he had ever given a report on this lawyer it would not have been derogatory; but in light of such cases as veteran career diplomat John Stewart Service, Far East affairs adviser Owen J. Lattimore, and ambassador-at-large Philip Jessup—all of whom Sen. McCarthy had branded "security risks"—Fulbright feared that

> ". . . if I had recommended [this lawyer] and, later, something derogatory had turned up, I almost certainly would have been accused in some quarters of trying to keep a communist in the government."

Fulbright left the 'some quarters" in no doubt when he added that FBI secret files were being opened and "misused" by McCarthy's committee, which obtained from them "any information it wants . . . whether authenticated or not." He said he was giving the FBI no more information for its "security investigations."

THE MONSTROUS SHADOW: The Oppenheimer case again spotlights FBI-Congressional committee tieups. The years-old "charges" against the nuclear scientist were based on "the raw FBI file, which includes uproved charges and rumors [and] derogatory information" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**). Exploding of the case shows, wrote Scripps-Howard columnist Thomas L. Stokes,

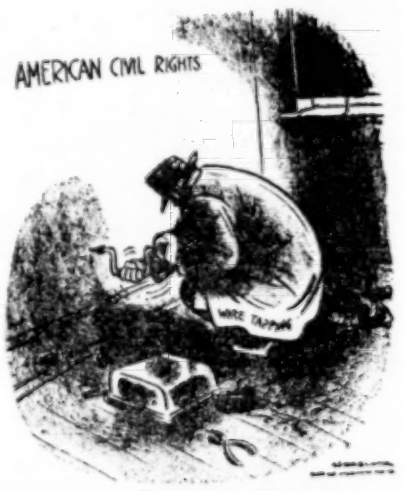
> ". . . how monstrous a shadow Sen. McCarthy casts over Washington and how much of an influence he has become with the government."

Such "unproved charges" and "derogatory information" as are in the Oppenheimer dossier are used by McCarthy "to the hilt . . . to punish with adverse publicity those [he] chooses to investigate" (W. H. Lawrence, **N.Y. Times**, 4/18). The **NYT** report of McCarthy's May 5-6 performance before the Senate subcommittee probing his dispute with the Army not only proves "to the hilt" that he has access to FBI reports; McCarthy

> ". . . served notice that he would not be bound by any secrecy decisions by anyone in the Exec. Dept. [and] called on the Legislative branch to join him in a clear-cut test of Presidential authority" [to bar access.]

That these relationships exist between Congressional committees and the FBI had been exposed long before by Clifford Durr, New Deal head of the Federal Communications Commission, who was himself badgered last month in New Orleans by the Jenner inquisition under Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) In 1947 Durr criticized the House Un-American Activities Committee for using FBI reports, and the FBI for giving government agencies and departments (including FCC) "unsolicited reports on individuals," much of it "baseless gossip." Hoover retorted that the FBI "did not evaluate" the information it passed on, whether asked for it or not, "nor make recommendations or decisions as to action."

"A GOOD UNDERSTANDING": In 1948 New Jersey's J. Parnell Thomas—after Truman's directive, but before Thomas (then Un-AAC chairman) was convict-



Herblock in Washington Post
WRONG NUMBER

ed and jailed for petty thievery—told a hearing on "Communist espionage" there was the "closest relation" between the Un-AAC and the FBI, "a very good understanding" which, however, "we cannot talk too much about."

In a Salt Lake City speech last November, Karl (now Sen. R-S.D.) Mundt, who became un-AAC acting chairman when Thomas went to jail, said:

> "These probes are a valuable supplement to the investigative work of the FBI . . . [Though the agents] may compile much evidence on Communist infiltration, [it is often not] enough to justify indictment. [In such cases,] the FBI will tip off a Congressional committee as to a situation . . . [the] committee's inquiry making it possible to bring the case into the open and, with the suspected Communist spy usually taking refuge in the 5th Amendment's protection against incriminating himself, it is possible to eliminate a potential threat." (Quoted from Salt Lake City **Tribune**, Nov. 22, by **I. F. Stone's Weekly.**)

The FBI and the Congressional committee, as Stone sums up, not only conspire to circumvent the grand jury system by thus disposing of "dubious and unfounded accusations"; by confronting innocent victims with FBI informers, the committee "destroys in the public pillory those whom it cannot fairly indict and convict."

A NATION OF VICTIMS: The FBI supposedly has dossiers on 60,000,000 Americans—workers, scientists, teachers, writers, clergymen, editors, artists, Congressmen; members of church congregations, Negro civil rights bodies, peace groups, ladies' bridge clubs. Already in 1941, according to the FBI's own count as reported in Max Lowenthal's **The Federal Bureau of Investigation**, the dossiers contained fingerprints of 23,500,000 persons and Hoover was aiming to get those of "all persons in the U.S." Hoover told **U.S. News** (12/53) that at last year's end he had "more than 124,000,000 of them on file."

Men and women fingerprinted include members of the armed services; the Civilian Conservation Corps (established to absorb jobless youth in the '30's and now disbanded); some civic and semi-public groups; indigents on relief; employes of "classified" industries; and miscellaneous "criminals" once booked by local police and freed without being prosecuted, but who (says Lowenthal) because of that record the FBI hopes may be recruited as informers or provocative agents. These "criminal" dossiers list persons arrested as pickets and strikers.

WHAT PEOPLE THINK: Hoover in the same interview said he had 5,379 agents toiling round the clock to cram more "reports" into the bulging dossiers and (say students of the FBI) to double the 60,000,000 "subjects." The **U.S. News** writer noted:

> "Congress gave Mr. Hoover all he asked for in the way of appropriations this [1953] year—$77,000,000 for general operations, an increase of $6.7 million over last year. [The increase was] made necessary by the battle against spies and subversives."

N.Y. **Times** Washington correspondent Luther A. Huston, during the furor over the nomination of Charles E. Bohlen to be Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and an inquiry into loyalty of U.S. citizens employed in UN, interviewed top FBI agents. He wrote that the files

> ". . . do not contain newspaper clippings, excerpts from speeches, etc., unless such material contains names and facts that are pertinent to the FBI's records, [the reason being that] Mr. Hoover has emphasized that the FBI is not interested in people's thoughts."

But in cases like that of Judith Coplon the veil has been drawn back on the kind of material in the dossiers —described by lawyers in that case as "scraps of gossip" on the "derogatory remarks" of a "subject" about the Un-AAC; critical statements about Spain's Franco; expressing belief that the U.S. should not have dropped A-bombs on Japan; possessing literature on the B'nai B'rith and American Council of Jewish Women; speaking at a PTA meeting against an anti-Semitic teacher. The "spies and subversives" whom FBI agents "battle against," a lawyer-expert on the FBI told the GUARDIAN,

> ". . . could mean any one of us, because they're trying to find out not really whether we have committed acts for which we should be liable to prosecution as spies and subversives, but what organizations we belong to; the kinds of ideas and opinions we harbor; kinds of people—nationality, race and politics—we associate with."

KEYHOLES TO PEACE: Hoover himself twice recently defined the "spies and subversives" he is interested in. He told the House Appropriations Committee last Dec. 9:

> "I would like to point out to the committee that the principal Communist activities in the United States during the past year have been—
>
> • "Its peace objective, geared primarily to raising nationwide appeal for settlement of the Korean war;
>
> • "Recall of American troops from abroad;
>
> • "A Five-Power pact, including Communist China;
>
> • "Resumption of trade with Iron Curtain countries."

On April 17 Hoover told a Congressional committee that "a meeting between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Malenkov is a key objective of the U.S. Communist Party" (N.Y. **Journal American**, 4/8). U.S. "spies and subversives" strove for such a meeting "on the claim that they are interested in easing world tensions," he said, adding: "Outspoken Communists have donned disguises, assumed new names and moved to new localities in their efforts to carry out the party's work"—presumably of "easing world tensions" or pretending to do so. The FBI's sources of information on those carrying out this work, Atty. Gen. Brownell told the Senate Judiciary Committee (**NYT**, 4/21), are "informers; eavesdroppers at keyholes or windows; an officer hidden in a closet; installation of a recording device; transmitters concealed in the clothing of agents" as well as tapped phones.

"SIMPLY SOME JUNK": The well-known Washington civil rights attorney, Joseph Forer, told a Natl. Lawyers Guild "Bill of Rights" conference four years ago that Hoover's "unevaluated report" theory is intended to "discredit" the reports (as basis for judging the FBI) by insisting it records and files everything it gets, regardless of source: "complaints and tips are offered to it by crackpots, malicious neighbors, and so on, it being unfair, therefore, to judge the agency by the fact that its files contain this mass of unevaluated matter." Forer said that was nonsense,

Drawing by Fred Wright
"So what happens if I don't sign it?"

and he cited the Coplon case dossiers to show that what Hoover calls "unevaluated" matter is in fact "the end product of work done over long periods of time and in numerous localities." If these,

> ". . . the culmination of investigation, are to be dismissed on grounds that they are simply some junk which happened to be in FBI files, then all FBI investigations are equally junk."

But this was the "junk" McCarthy used to ruin Service, Lattimore and Jessup; it was such "junk" that the Little Rock Hoover man wanted when Sen. Fulbright promised never to co-operate again. This is the "junk" that Parnell Thomas had "very good understanding" with the FBI about, and which Mundt referred to as being insufficient to "justify indictment" by a grand jury. From any standpoint of law it is "junk"; but in the hands of a committee unconcerned about the law it is a deadly weapon.

★

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- No matter what official identification any stranger presents, you need not let him into your home; unless he has a warrant, he has no right to enter.
- Whether at your door or elsewhere, you need not answer FBI questions. Tell the agent, if you like, that you will make an appointment to meet him at your attorney's office.
- Your right of refusal being what it is, there is nothing to get flustered about. The agents are looking for a sign that you are intimidated; they are trained in techniques of heightening intimidation.
- You need not be drawn into conversation about whether you "want to co-operate with the government"; it is designed to make you fear that you will "look suspicious" if you refuse. Your co-operation may be wanted for only one purpose—to destroy either yourself or another decent citizen.
- Keep calm, confident in the knowledge that it is you, not they, who are defending good Americanism.
- Above all—when in any doubt about what you should do, talk it over with a good lawyer FIRST—that is, BEFORE, not after, you do or say anything you might later regret.

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GOLDSBOROUGH

by

Stefan Heym

I AM given to enthusiasm about books, and I think this is not so strange, for much of my life has been given to the making of books. And thereby is a particular and special pleasure which comes when I read a fine book. It is a special feeling—and it is the feeling I had when I read Stefan Heym's new novel, GOLDSBOROUGH.

This is a book that made me envious. I would want to write such a book, if I could. I would want to have the power to reproduce with such fidelity and affection the vernacular of the American working people. I would want to be able to involve my readers in the lives and hopes of these people—again as Stefan Heym does.

In other words, I read GOLDSBOROUGH with a certain sense of awe. Here is a man, Stefan Heym, who came to America fourteen years ago, as an anti-fascist refugee. He learned a new, strange tongue. He went into the United States Army, and he fought well for the land which had given him shelter. Then, seven years after this war had ended, he returned to his native land—a man seeking freedom once more. And there, in the German Democratic Republic, he wrote GOLDSBOROUGH, a book which breathes love for America and faith in the American people. His book will have a lasting place in American literature of this period. It is also a readable book, firmly and solidly written, with a depth and color almost unknown in American literature of the Atomic Age.

May I recommend GOLDSBOROUGH to you — to own and read, to give to friends and neighbors, to reawaken faith and courage in both our past and our future.

Howard Fast

*

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KIT CLARDY COMES OUT OF HIS BUSHEL

Auto workers' blast greets House Un-American probe in Detroit; Inquisitors working way up California coast from San Diego

By Lawrence Emery

FOR months the House Un-American Activities Committee was disabled by internal strife among its self-serving, self-seeking personnel. The full story of this small area of Washington snake-pit politics has been kept under wraps, but a few items have become known. Early this year chairman Harold Velde (R-Ill.), who got his training as a political peeping-tom for J. Edgar Hoover, was forced to fire his chief investigator who was caught accepting a loan from one of the committee's friendly witnesses. On March 25 committeeman Bernard W. Kearney (R-N.J.), irked because he didn't get full committee backing for some of his personal peeping, displayed part of the dirty laundry in public.

The "rotten and intolerable" staff setup, he said, should be "cleaned up immediately;" among the snoopers there was "a lot of backbiting, with one investigator trying to outdo the other, each trying to get a pay raise when none is warranted." He said the staff is so bloated that of the Committee's $275,000 appropriation, the payroll eats up all but $78,000. One investigator, he hinted, was assigned at taxpayers' cost to electioneer in Velde's Congressional district. As a sample of waste, he cited a recent two-day hearing in Chicago where "five witnesses were questioned, and five investigators went along at the Commitee's expense." All this moved the Madison **Capital Times** to write:

> "What this country needs is a permanent committee, made up of private citizens, to investigate the investigators in Congress."

VOTES & BUSHELS: But this is an election year and the Committee has pulled itself together enough to put two shows on the road—in Michigan and California—to drum up some votes. The Michigan expedition is headed by Rep. Kit Clardy, a Republican from Lansing, 62 but a freshman in Congress. He is so conservative that he considers President Eisenhower a leftist and often criticizes what he calls the "Administration line." In a recent interview he said "the only reason I ran for Congress was to get on this committee," and added: "I'm not one to hide my light under a bushel."

(In 1934 his light was put out for a while by a bushel placed over it by former Gov. Comstock. Under a charge of favoritism to certain utilities, Clardy was bounced from the Michigan Public Utilities Commission for "misfeasance, malfeasance and gross and habitual neglect of duty." The State Supreme Court upheld his ouster because "there was competent evidence to establish the truth of the charges.")

REUTHER SOUNDS OFF: Clardy was met in Detroit by an eight-page blast signed by Walter Reuther, pres. of CIO and the United Auto Workers, and other top officers of the union. (The last time the Committee invaded Detroit, Reuther took advantage of its presence in a fight he was waging with opponents in his own union.) Charging the Committee with "conducting a

VELDE & CLARDY
The linen needed cleaning

reckless drive for headlines and personal political advantage, and carrying on an immoral campaign of intimidation," the statement emphasized Clardy's electioneering aims:

> "Its [the committee's] first visit in 1938 was devoted principally to smearing Michigan's greatest and most devoted public servant, Frank Murphy, and to defeat him for re-election. The second was in 1952 and was manifestly timed to publicize the unknown and obscure Charles Potter, then a Congressman but a candidate for the U.S. Senate. This week it arrives for the convenience of Cong. Clardy's campaign for re-election."

WONDERERS: A group of 75 Michigan attorneys signed a statement condemning the Committee's purposes and procedures. The Detroit branch of the American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement defending the right of witnesses to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Some 88 persons are under subpena in the state; they include educators, doctors, lawyers, and unionists. Two Wayne University educators have already been suspended for defying Clardy; the **Wayne Collegian**, student publication, applauded them and said:

> "One is forced to wonder nowadays how professors can honestly live with themselves if they capitulate to the pressure exerted by such groups. . . ."

Michigan State attorneys and investigators attend all sessions with notebooks. They explain:

> ". . . We have a Communist control law [in abeyance pending a test of its Constitutionality] and the State Police have a Subversive Squad. We want to know who appears, what they say and if they should be put on our list of suspected subversives."

"I'D SHOVE YOU OUT": The California roadshow is being conducted by Reps. Donald L. Jackson (R-Santa Monica) and Clyde Doyle, Long Beach. Both are up for re-election. They opened in San Diego, plan to work their way north. Victims at the first hearing included professionals and unionists; all fought back. One told Jackson:

> "If you shoved your way into my polling booth to see how I voted, I'd shove you out—it would be my Constitutional right. For the same reasons you can't shove your way into my mind."

Said trade unionist Philip Usquiano:

> "I'm a manual laborer and have worked all my life as such. I'm married, support six minor children and own our home. I've never been in jail. My political views are my own. What I've learned has been from the life of a worker in the U.S. I know this Committee has violated my rights and is trying to limit my participation in affairs of my country and my community. This Committee is creating hysteria in San Diego by bringing in here those who have sold their birthright for 30 pieces of silver, by recalling the dead from their graves. I accuse this Committee of undermining the Constitution of the U.S.; I refuse to cooperate with it."

BIRMINGHAM NEGROES PROTEST TO SENATE

$4½ millions for jim-crow housing

"A PERFECT EXAMPLE of federal funds being allocated for a clearly discriminatory program" has been called to the attention of Senate leaders by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secy. of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People. To Senate Banking & Currency Committee chairman Homer Capehart (R-Ind.) she wrote that the Birmingham (Ala.) Housing Authority, to which the Housing & Home Finance Agency has approved a $4.5 million allocation,

> ". . . is attempting to quickly acquire the property of private citizens either by purchase or through condemnation and eminent domain for resale to private individuals, corporations, or agencies against the will of the said owners."

To Senate Appropriations subcommittee chairman Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.) she wrote urging an anti-discrimination amendment to the federal housing bill; she added that she believed

> ". . . the Housing Authority . . . and the City of Birmingham are moving in every way they know how to clear Negroes from the Medical Center area without conforming to the provisions for relocation under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act [and] that, with the aid of federal funds, the city will go forward with this plan and there will be extensions of racial discrimination practices adverse to the well-being of 40% of Birmingham's population."

Mrs. Hurley previously wired President Eisenhower that NAACP objection to the Birmingham Medical Center redevelopment plan included

> ". . . inadequate housing facilities for persons—especially Negro families—displaced by the redevelopment, segregation in hospital facilities in the area, and prohibitions barring Negro physicians from attending their patients in Jefferson-Hillman Hospital."

"ARROGANT" LEVITTOWN: NAACP secy. Walter White told Eisenhower in a recent wire that Levittown, Pa., was the "most arrogant example" of the Federal Housing Administration's guaranteeing mortgages "for lily-white developments." Levittown is designed for 20,000 families. White pointed out that federal funds had been used to assist development of similar projects in Baltimore, Birmingham, Savannah and Paducah (Ky.). An NAACP delegation first placed the Levittown issue before the White House Jan. 13, having as long ago as May 6, 1953 appealed to Housing Finance Agency administrator Albert M. Cole.

POLITE BUT COLD: The British Broadcasting Corp. is still being urged by the NAACP not to telecast the U.S. "Amos 'n Andy" TV show. The BBC bought and began showing the film April 21 despite prior NAACP protest; White told them the program was

> ". . . a gross caricature of the Negro which has done much harm in the U.S. and, we fear, may do even more in England. . . ."

White said the show would "add to the resentment" of non-whites already angry at "the white world's condescension towards brown, yellow and black peoples." The BBC politely replied that it would continue the program.

NO ANSWER: As of May 4 Secy. of State Dulles had not answered a March 18 request by White to intervene in the expulsion of seven Cuban Negro baseball players from Winter Garden, Fla. Members of the Washington farm team of Charlotte, N.C., the players were ordered by Winter Garden officials to "get out of town by sundown" because they were not white. White suggested to Dulles that such an incident "creates distrust of our country among other nations . . . and undermines the force of the anti-Communist resolutions adopted at Caracas."

REUTHER AND MEANY CHALLENGED

Unions act on T-H law and jobs but disunity hampers efforts

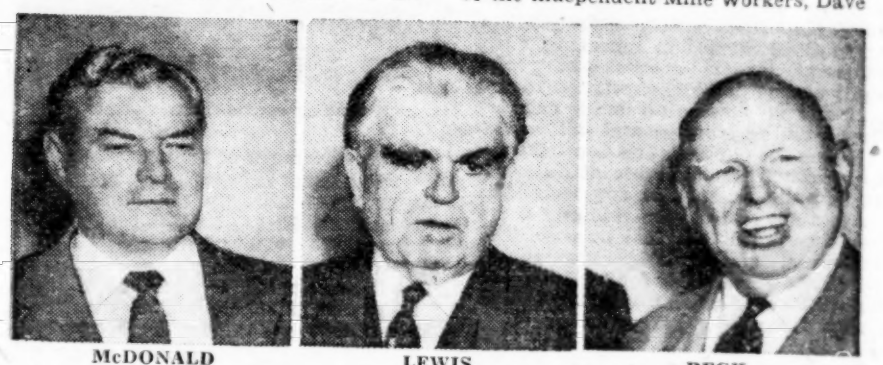
ON Sept. 18, 1952, candidate Eisenhower said:

"America wants no law licensing union-busting. And neither do I."

On Oct. 20, 1952, he said:

"Never again must the crime of unemployment be visited upon our people."

Last week, after 17 months of the Eisenhower Presidency, America still had a law licensing union-busting, and the blight of unemployment was again being visited upon its people. Most of organized labor was reacting vigorously —but separately and without unity.



McDONALD LEWIS BECK

Three men, three points and a single mind

There was division within the AFL, division within the CIO, division between both these powerful organizations and the independent unions—progressive and conservative.

NEW THREESOME: Into this picture a new, still-unknown factor was projected on April 30 when John L. Lewis of the independent Mine Workers, Dave Beck of the AFL Teamsters, and David J. McDonald of the CIO Steelworkers lunched together and announced a pledge of "the closest co-operation" on a broad three-point program:

- A campaign to force government action on mounting unemployment.
- A joint effort for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and an end of "futile" efforts to amend it.
- A political drive for "remedial legislation" in Congress, in State legislatures and "at the municipal level if necessary" to promote labor's interests.

None could say if this meeting foreshadowed a new federation of U.S. labor; but it was generally conceded that it could have massive repercussions, and it was accepted as a challenge to the leadership of both CIO pres. Walter Reuther and AFL pres. George Meany. For one thing, both Beck and McDonald announced they would not sign the joint AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement which has been presented as a "first step" in bringing about labor unity.

THE BIG PROBLEM: Mounting unemployment was worrying all of labor. Said Lewis:

"Despite the optimistic statements of some public gentlemen in the press, there is no visible evidence that business will pick up at home or that exports will cease their decline."

Last week some 350 delegates met in an emergency unemployment conference called by the CIO to act on this general program:

"Specifically, the Administration should move without delay to expand mass purchasing power by increasing income-tax exemptions, unemployment compensation benefits and duration, and minimum wages and to create jobs directly by a greatly expanded housing program and construction of badly-needed schools, hospitals, highways and other public works."

Reuther, insisting that despite government figures there is now the equivalent of 5,000,000 unemployed, said:

"The little men of big business are in power and until they are thrown out the people will be in trouble."

Pres. Jacob S. Potofsky of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers was more specific; he told his convention:

"Some members of the Cabinet—millionaires like Humphrey [Treasury Secy.] and Weeks [Commerce Secy.] —are deciding questions. They, and not the President or the Secretary [of Labor], are making the policy decisions."

T-H STAYS INTACT: As negotiations on 1954 contracts shape up, labor is not only hampered by unemployment but is still in the Taft-Hartley straitjacket. On May 7 the Senate, by a 50-42 vote, sent back to committee an Administration bill to amend the law, thus leaving it intact until the next session of Congress, at least.

Although the Senate action was regarded as "one of President Eisenhower's worst legislative defeats," it was no great victory for labor, which had let itself be forced into exerting all its energies to prevent a worsening of the law rather than to repeal it outright.

MORE DOUGH? Contract negotiations are due to begin soon in steel, electrical manufacturing, rubber, nonferrous metals, meat packing and other giant industries. Most unions are not specifying now what their wage demands will be but speak of them as "substantial." Journals of big business are complacently predicting that most will fall within the range of 5c to 8c an hour.

Some unions, like steel and rubber, are emphasizing the guaranteed annual wage which, for the most part, actually means supplementary unemployment insurance paid by the employers. Others, like packinghouse and textile, are pressing for a 35-hour week with 40 hours' pay. The steel union, which begins talks May 18 with U.S. Steel, has hinted it will make a package demand, including fringe benefits, of 10c an hour.

Interlandi in Newark Star Ledger

"The Democrats say there's a recession, the Republicans say there's no recession . . . a body doesn't know what to believe anymore."

Spell it backward

[Former Congressman] Maury Maverick Sr. said Saturday likening of the fall of Dienbienphu to the Battle of the Alamo is an insult to the brave Texans who fought to the last man. He suggested instead the Asian last stand be called "Battle of the Omala — Alamo spelled backward."

The two battles were linked in Washington by Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.). Maverick said: "Everything at Dienpienphu was backward from the Alamo. The defenders of the Alamo were free men fighting for liberty. The defenders of Dienbienphu were all mercenaries, fighting for French colonialism. They were defending the most disgraceful and corrupt administration in Asia."

—San Antonio Light, May 9.

Little known facts about the Red Menace

A Duluth clergyman today said he believes Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy . . . is really the nation's top Communist. In a public statement the Rev. C. S. Jones, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church here, said: ". . . The way Communists work is to try to create confusion wherever they can. . . . I think when it all boils down . . . the finger will be pointed at McCarthy and he will be investigated."

—Minnesota paper (sent by reader, unidentified).

★

REDS' BETTER LIVING A PLOT, SAYS NAGY. Ferenc Nagy, former premier of Hungary, said today the Soviet program for raising living standards behind the iron curtain actually was part of the continuing Soviet conspiracy to conquer the free world.

—Tokyo AP dispatch, N.Y. Herald Tribune, April 4.

★

A Washington official made this statement the other day and in it there's food for thought: ". . . Destruction of a nation's currency value is one of the main objectives of the Communists wherever they penetrate. . . Nobody seems to have connected our staggering public debt, our back-breaking taxes and the present low value of the dollar with our giveaway policies, most of them dictated by the Reds or Red sympathizers."

—Cedric Adams in Minneapolis Star.

CALENDAR

Chicago

JEWISH PEOPLES CHORAL SOCIETY Celebrates its 40th Anniversary and Commemorates Tercentary of Jewish Life in America on SAT., MAY 22, 8:30 p.m. Orchestra Hall, 220 So. Michigan Av. Program: "Tzvei Brider" oratorio with the Chicago & Detroit Choruses. Yiddish, Israeli & American labor & folk songs. Dances under direction of Lillian Shapero. Tickets $2.50, $1.85 main floor; $1.85, $1.50, $1.25 balcony; $1 gallery; obtainable from James Hillner, EV 4-7055, B. Levcovitch, SA 2-2039 (evenings NE 8-4817). Also at Orchestra Hall 10 days before concert.

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Los Angeles

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THE SMITH ACT vs. THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES — II

Its victims should be freed NOW, the act nullified and repealed

By John T. McManus

WHEN the first Communist Party leaders were tried under the Smith Act five years ago, the GUARDIAN warned that "if they are convicted, almost all Americans will feel it where it hurts." The march of events has by now made it clear that the Smith Act—which is portrayed as being aimed only at Communists—permits the indefinite imprisonment of anyone who talks to anyone else about change or reform in America.

Its proponents have spoken of a minimum of 10,000 people intended for prosecution under it. In 1949 the Atty. General asked for and got money based on an estimated 20,000 candidates for Smith Act prosecution. J. Edgar Hoover—who estimates total CP membership at about 25,000—has set his sights on upwards of 750,000 people including all whom he deems to come under Communist influence. (The basic Progressive Party vote since 1948 is about 750,000.)

Figures on potential victims can rise indefinitely, and will do so unless ordinary citizens put out the fire before it reaches them. That is why the GUARDIAN is urging a return to common sense in the form of broad action now to amnesty the 101 Smith Act victims now in jail, appealing convictions or awaiting trial.

"CONSPIRACY": The Act enables general imprisonment through its "conspiracy" provision, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1951 with historic dissents by Justices Douglas and Black in the cases of the 11 CP leaders convicted in 1949. Under that provision anyone "conspiring" to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government can be jailed. (In 1941 the Supreme Court ruled that the CP actually opposes such violence, but Smith Act prosecutors have convinced uninformed jurors that Marx and Lenin did "advocate" violent overthrow of governments in the remote past.) The imprisonment can be indefinite since a victim could "commit conspiracy" all over again the day he left jail by talking to a friend.

Under the "conspiracy" provision, victims are alleged to be preparing to teach, advocate or encourage violent overthrow at some future time. Furthermore, anyone associating with the "conspirators" (such as the Baltimore CP's lawyer, Braverman) is held equally culpable. Following the 1949 convictions, the McCarran Act of 1950 legally identified with the CP anyone advocating parallel or similar policies. Thus to oppose race discrimination, sales taxes or increased transit fares, to attend a meeting on such matters, to agree with someone else in person or by mail, or even enroll in a political party with such planks can be "conspiracy" under the Act.

"OVERT ACTS": The foregoing is not mere hypothesis. The "overt acts" charged in all the Smith Act cases since the first 11 have included attending a meeting, mailing a letter, writing a leaflet etc. Most recently, enrollment in the American Labor Party or (by allegation) voting Progressive has been included in charges against civil service employes under security investigation. The recent Velde Committee hearings in Albany, N. Y., were specifically held to identify the ALP with the "Communist conspiracy." Also, this was the substance of McCarthy's attack on Maj. Irving Peress.

The McCarthy-GOP "20 years of treason" slogan and the whole activity of the Jenner Committee are aimed at so identifying the whole New Deal and its adherents—a voting majority in four Presidential elections.

INFORMATION, PLEASE: Thus "conspiracy" under the Smith Act is as broad as all outdoors. The excellent pamphlet **Amnesty** (by Marion Bachrach, New Century, 832 Broadway, N. Y., 5c) wryly describes this mounting application of the Act as "great oaks from little acorns."

In self-defense, Americans must become informed as to the Smith Act's real purposes. These purposes do not differ from those of the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798, aimed by the Federalists at silencing or imprisoning all political dissenters against surrendering the new-born democratic government to a property-holding minority. Under Jefferson, the electorate routed the Federalists, nullified those laws and freed its victims with redress.

AMNESTY MONTH: The primary purpose of Amnesty Month (June 4- July 4) is to inform the American people as widely as possible of the dangers inherent in the Smith Act, the keystone law of current repression; and to enlist their support in rendering it ineffectual, by (1) re-establishing the right of free political expression in the U.S. and (2) freeing all Smith Act victims from persecution and jail.

In the face of Supreme Court failure to declare the Act unconstitutional, and in the absence of any legislative move to repeal it, the Amnesty drive has this urgent political purpose. The Editors of the GUARDIAN urge you to take this means NOW of forcing the Smith Act to public attention and nullification.

ACTIONS FOR AMNESTY

1 WRITE A LETTER, either individually or with others, to President Eisenhower, asking that he grant amnesty to the Smith Act prisoners.

2 ASK ORGANIZATIONS to which you belong to discuss the question, and to write to President Eisenhower urging amnesty.

3 ARRANGE FORUMS at which the issues in the amnesty campaign may be discussed.

4 GET MATERIAL, speakers for meetings, other assistance from

NATL. COMMITTEE
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FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS . . . .
667 Madison Av., New York 21, N. Y.

Material now available: 24-pp. pamphlet "Prison for Ideas," 15c; $6.25 for 50; $10 for 100. Also (free) "Amnesty Trumpet," monthly newsletter.

Jailed lawyers come back fighting

HARRY SACHER

A. J. ISSERMAN

Five defense lawyers in the first Foley Square trial of Communist leaders were jailed for contempt by Judge Harold Medina. Harry Sacher and Abe Isserman were also disbarred. The Supreme Court recently reversed Sacher's disbarment and has before it an unanswered appeal to reinstate Isserman.

Carrefour, Paris

"There's no 'East' because the boss doesn't want trouble with McCarthy."

Brownell is not losing any time

TO apply the Smith, McCarran and McCarran-Walter Acts to unions and business concerns as well as individuals and allegedly "subversive" organizations, Atty. Gen. Brownell last week took three steps:

- Proposed legislation outlawing "Communist-infiltrated" unions. This puts the Administration stamp of approval on the Smith, Butler and Goldwater-Rhodes Bills, opposed by all U. S. labor.
- Proposed a "Defense Facilities Protection Act" to enable outlawing of "Communist-infiltrated" or "dominated" business concerns. Present laws enable screening in defense plants; the new law would cover "auxiliary establishments" (NYT 5/11), a designation which could be made to apply universally.
- Set up in the Dept. of Justice a new Division of Internal Security in charge of an 8th asst Atty. General (William F. Tompkins, Maplewood, N. J.) to speed prosecutions under Smith and McCarran Acts and denaturalizations and deportations under the McCarran-Walter Act.

Take the Fifth, Peter

Somebody was telling us that he dreamed the other night that Sen. McCarthy had died and gone to Heaven where he was met by St. Peter who asked, "What have you done on earth?"

And McCarthy said, "Look, Bud, I'm asking the questions from now on."

Detroit Free Press, 3/11/54.

THE SHEINER CASE

Miami witch-hunt opens with move to disbar lawyer

Guardian special correspondent

MIAMI, FLA.

AS an aftermath of the New Orleans witch-hunt expedition of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee's Eastland (D-Miss.), Eastland has announced he will "definitely go to Miami" and disbarment proceedings have been started against Miami attorney Leo Sheiner. Meanwhile the Dade County grand jury is reported

> ". . . questioning Miamians suspected or accused of links to the Communist Party or its 'fronts' . . . [and] running into the block of the 5th Amendment. . . . The only real immunity for the Red or fellow traveler is to 'tell all'" (Miami **Daily News**, 4/14).

The move against Sheiner is the opening gun in a campaign by Miami McCarthyites to impose the Brownell-McCarthy clamp of conformity on the legal profession. Sheiner is charged with "unprofessional acts, deceit and misconduct and violation of professional ethics" because he used the 5th Amendment before Eastland's subcommittee. The attempt to set the precedent that an attorney as an officer of the court has no right to invoke the 5th is equivalent to requiring a loyalty oath of all attorneys.

THE ACCUSER: Sheiner had invoked the 5th on "charges" that he was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Conference Education Fund, which have an outstanding record in the fight against race discrimination. His "accusers" were:

- Paul Crouch, professional stoolpigeon who had to pay $5,000 damages when a New York jury last October found he had libeled a Miami airport worker in newspaper articles calling him a "spy courier."
- Ellis Rubin, young lawyer who has become the American Legion's "expert" on communism and a special asst. to the State Atty.
- State Atty. George Brautigam, who in his 1952 election campaign (shortly after the bomb killing of NAACP leaders Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore) told voters in paid political ads there would be an end to bomb-terror in Florida if he was elected. Less than two months after the election, a Negro—Emmett Jefferson—was killed in broad daylight by a white policeman. The policeman is still free, as are the murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Moore; Brautigam's department has turned up no trace of the Miami bomb terrorists.

NO REPENTANCE: The Sheiner case has dangerous nationwide implications. Meanwhile on the brighter side, a number of candidates for public office in the coming primaries have gone on record as opposed to McCarthy and the Walter-McCarran Law, although they have not committed themselves on the specific local instances of McCarthyism.

General feeling of the people is one of healthy contempt for stoolpigeons. Of the many Miamians who have been fingered, the Miami **Daily News** admitted that "not one is known to have repented in the officially accepted manner by aiding the exposure of communism here."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

IRRESPONSIBLE QUARTERS: Washington's Far East war plans give Formosan and S. Korean troops a key role. One plan—"Operation Bleed"—reportedly advanced by U. S. Far East military commanders embraces naval blockade of China, hit-and-run guerrilla raids by the "manpower of free Asia," commando-style air and naval raids (**NEA**'s Fred Sparks, **NYWT**, 5/8). Current and scheduled trips to the Far East of Gen. Van Fleet and Defense Secy. Wilson are concerned with the use of these troops. The President's statement to Sen. Flanders that "no military operation would be taken **alone** unless it had the support of the people of the region" (emphasis added) opens the door to unilateral U. S. intervention if the Indo-Chinese states—once France grants them "independence" as Washington insists—agree. The "soul-searching review" of military strategy and spending which Wilson said (4/26) may be in the offing, the President's reported moves to raise the military budget and impose some form of universal military service, show that Washington's only answer to the bankruptcy of its policy of force is more force. Walter Lippmann (5/6) warned that

> ". . . highly irresponsible responsible quarters . . . our aging juveniles . . . [believe] it would be feasible for the U. S. alone to take over the war in Indo-China and to win it. This is a most dangerous fantasy for men of power and influence to entertain. . . . [If the U. S. does not co-ordinate its diplomacy with its allies] our failure is certain and a great disaster will almost surely follow that failure."

WARLIKE LIBERALS: At this "post-war low point in American influence, prestige and power" (Harsch, **CSM**, 5/4), when the American people clearly oppose intervention in Indo-China and further wars and the disaster looms clearly ahead, demand for a "forthright reappraisal from the ground up" of any aspect of U. S. policy was completely absent from the political scene.

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Then he'd think twice before shouting for atom bombs."

The Democrats' "attack" on Dulles' foreign policy at their party's national meeting this month mocked his methods but did not question the policy.

Democrats in Congress, while faintly reflecting grassroots pressure against more war in Asia, did not—with the sole exception of Colorado's Johnson—take a forthright stand even against Indo-China involvement, much less against the premises of the policy. When Frederic Coudert (R-N. Y.)—the originator of the N. Y. school witch-hunt, and attorney for French big business including its arms trust—proposed an amendment to the Natl. Defense Act to bar the President from using U. S. troops abroad without Congress' consent, liberal Democrats voted against it. The proposal's defeat, 372-58, showed the weakness of anti-war sentiment in Congress, lent support to the Administration's confidence that with enough pressure Congress will go along.

Only extreme right-wingers have been outspoken against intervention. Formation of a new "For America" group by ex-America Firsters, led by Col. Robert H. McCormick whose Chicago **Tribune** has voiced the strongest anti-intervention stand in the press, crystallized a "nationalist" deviation. Opposed to foreign adventures and their costs, "For America" stands for strong U. S. military force, ultra-reaction at home, lumps together New Dealers, internationalists, socialists, communists, and heads down another road to world war. Its premise is the same "fake and recklessly distorted picture of recent Far East history created by the McCarthyites and bitter-end isolationists" which has so blinded the Administration it could not produce a workable Far East policy (Walter Millis, **NYHT**, 5/9). Anti-McCarthyites, so-called liberal Democrats, are similarly blinded since they accept the whole "cold war" policy which—from the very beginning—has been based on McCarthyite premises, a fake picture of the whole world.

SELF-DEFEATING POWER: Thus in the new phase of post-World War II history—with the crisis of U. S. policy enormously accelerated by the H-bomb—the dangers and costs to the U. S. of this continued blindness still grow greater. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported from London:

> "Once that bomb was unleashed, and with it the knowledge that any nation allied to a potential aggressor was courting suicide, the U. S. ceased to have an ally in the world. Britain has one desire: to escape from being involved in war as part of an alliance in which she is scheduled as an atom bomb base. Labour Party leaders who expelled members collecting signatures for the Stockholm Appeal are now leading the campaign against the H-bomb. This picture is repeated in every country occupied by the U. S. The Americans have been so intent on building up their power they do not realize their very power has defeated them."

The revolt against the bomb and against W. German rearmament goes to the root of coalition foreign policy. Pressed by this tide from below, Churchill—as his April 30 speech wishing the U. S. S. R. "peace and happiness" indicated—is using Washington's setback to regain some bargaining position for Britain. This was emphasized by official British statements repeatedly puncturing U. S. claims that Dulles' South Asia pact is proceeding apace.

The Western world's revolt against Washington's "leadership" has slowed the war drive, but the danger period is not yet over. For Americans, the need and duty to insist more effectively than in mere words on a "forthright reappraisal from the ground up" of their government's policy was never more desperately urgent.

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BOOKS

Mike Gold: Inspiration for a generation of writers

By Lawrence Emery

MIKE GOLD
Truth won't stand still

IN 1914 Mike Gold was 20 years old and out of a job. Tramping for work, he came upon a demonstration of unemployed in New York's Union Square. Two drastic things happened to him: he spent a precious dime for a copy of **The Masses**, and he was slugged by a cop. The policeman's club prompted several questions in his mind; **The Masses** suggested the answers.

What followed has been going on ever since as a sort of chain reaction. The old radical magazine inspired Gold to write a poem on unemployment —"I wanted to be a witness to the wrongs done my people, the American workers"—and the magazine published it. Twelve years and a world war later Mike Gold was editor of **New Masses** which, in its turn, inspired countless others as Mike had been inspired. Under his guiding influence during the Hungry Thirties proletarian literature in the U. S. burgeoned; under his continuing influence new writers now are coming to maturity. Through Mike Gold, the chain that began with the social upheavels pre-dating World War I continues unbroken today.

A NEW LITERATURE: Last month **The Mike Gold Reader** was published in honor of his 60th birthday. For old-timers, the book is a reminder of the excitement of every issue of **New Masses** in the late Twenties and early Thirties, the time of Coolidge and Hoover. The magazine was brash and bold; it somehow combined a tough realism with a starry idealism and it was read in cozy college dormitories, in drab mining towns, in lumber camps, in ship's fo'c'sles, in seaports and in the wheatfields and in hobo jungles. It fired a whole generation of young radicals and profoundly influenced its time. For a later generation, the book is a lesson in the continuity of thought and effort as now perfectly personified in its author.

It is a thin volume, but it spans a period from 1921 to 1953. There are some unexplained gaps—it contains nothing written during World War II—but it is fair sampling of Mike's vast contribution to a new literature. Of the older pieces, there is the famed "Strange Funeral at Braddock," a memorable little story called "Love On a Garbage Dump," and a fine tribute to John Reed which should be must reading for those too young to recall who he was and what he did.

POINTING THE WAY: Included, too, is the critique of Thornton Wilder which appeared in the **New Republic** in 1929—a shattering but cleansing blast at the effete mysticism which had threatened to become the dominant literary fashion of the time.

There are two wonderful excerpts from "Jews Without Money" which burst upon the literary scene with revolutionary force in 1930. An autobiographical study of life and death, horror and hope on the Lower East Side, it was both tender and tough, but above all it was true; it pointed a way of writing for a whole generation of writers to come.

Longest selection in the book (25 pages) was written in 1941 but as timely now as then. Titled "Renegades," it is a thorough exploration of a phenomenon not limited to our times, even though it might seem more aggravated now than ever before. But Mike points out a "psychological continuity of the renegade type, whatever the political events of the moment." And he adds: "Renegades have never stopped a great movement based on truth."

CULTS vs. PEOPLE: Outstanding recent selections are a report of the 1949 World Peace Congress in Paris, and three remarkable sketches of remarkable men: the late Peter V. Cacchione, member of the N. Y. City Council from Brooklyn, whose life must one day be recognized as having epic qualities; Theodore Dreiser, the great brooding giant of American literature; and William L. Patterson whom Mike calls Mr. Civil Rights.

Since Gold became "a witness to the wrongs done my people," he has "seen many cults come and go in bourgeois literature —escapists, abstractionists, Freudians, and mystics of art, foggy symbolists, clowns and trained seals and sex-mad pygmies of the pen." But, he writes, "a national literature can be based only on truth and the people."

THE MIKE GOLD READER, with introduction by Sam Sillen. Intl. Publishers, 381 4th Av., N.Y.C. 16. 188 pp. cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.50.

NEW PAMPHLET

How Geneva came to be

WHEN this month's Geneva conference was born at the Berlin conference last January and February, a great development was recorded: "The principle of negotiations as the only way to settle disputes among nations and lead the world toward peace" was re-established. Thus for all seeking a clear evaluation of Geneva and of further discussions ahead, **New World Review** editor Jessica Smith has done a vital service by summarizing "the Berlin conference and what it means to you" in her new pamphlet **Negotiations the Way to Peace** (NWR, 23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. 10, 64 pp., 25c). She gives a good blow-by-blow account of how diplomacy works, and ties together much information and several new angles buried in daily press reports.

An excellent appendix by Margrit Adler, editor of the **German-American**, telescopes succinctly facts and figures on the two German governments, covering remilitarization, cartels, renazification, Adenauer's election contributors, structure and economy of E. Germany. (Despite repressions, she points out, some 3,000,000 W. Germans appealed directly to the Berlin Conference for a peaceful settlement of the German problem; in a British poll of W. Germans, 71% replied "No" when asked "Would you like to be a soldier?") Another appendix helpfully unravels the aims and terms of the multitude of W. European treaties and organizations (NATO, EDC, Schuman Plan, etc.). —I. K.

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NEW YORK—*THREE PUERTO RICANS AND A MURDER — III*

Blue ribbon jury convicted 3 despite unanswered questions

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE Puerto Rican youths, two in their teens, wait in Sing Sing's death house because a blue-ribbon jury last April found no "reasonable doubt" in the story the government told of murder in an east side tenement.

But that story, even taken at its face value and without the denials made on the witness stand by the three defendants, leaves questions which call for an answer before the switch is pulled on Concepcion Estrada Correa, 17; Henry Matthews, 17; and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22.

"LOOKOUT" ON ROOF: Anna Levy, 85, was murdered last June 3 in her ground-floor apartment at 188 Norfolk St., a six-story tenement. The back windows look out on a sheer brick wall. The government charged that while Matthews and Rios did the killing, Concepcion Estrada Correa was assigned as a look-out; he did not wait in the street where police might pass, but on the roof, six flights up. The jury was taken to that roof and shown where Estrada Correa is alleged to have been posted—in the back, out of sight of both the apartment and the street.

Why would a look-out be posted where he could do no good? He is supposed to have heard the screams, run to the adjoining roof where the stairway door was open, then down the six flights to the street. As he came out, the government said, he met his friends just running from the apartment, bloody knives in hand. They were supposed to have refused to share the take with him, run one way while he ran another.

THE SILENT DOG: The top-floor tenant of 188 Norfolk St. keeps a watchdog to give warning should burglars climb down the fire escape from the roof. The tenant testified in court that, though his dog would bark at any noise, it was quiet throughout the early morning hours of June 3 when the three youths were supposed to have walked across the roof, when two of them were supposed to have descended the fire-escape. The police did not describe them as practiced burglars; they were pictured as boys on a spree. Rios and Matthews were said to have been quareling on their way down the fire escape. Yet the dog gave no alarm.

The dog had awakened that night, the top-floor tenant testified, but at 11:30 p.m. when footsteps were plainly heard on the roof. At that hour the three young men, it was admitted, were uptown in a Lexington Av. luncheonette. Precisely when Mrs. Levy was murdered was never fully established by the medical examiner.

RECANTATIONS: The government pieced together its story from statements allegedly signed by the three defendants shortly after their arrest. In court all three recanted the statements, said they had been forced by beatings or threats to sign documents incriminating each other. The government then produced witnesses who testified that, at various times after the murder and before their arrest, the three defendants admitted guilt. Some of these were on parole or in other ways susceptible to pressure by the police.

Carlos Gennaro, 18, said he had been with the defendants in the luncheonette the night of the murder when they planned a robbery. He also testified that days afterward the boys had told him of the murder. After the trial was over, but before Judge Jonah Goldstein passed sentence, Gennaro came to the office of Ben Levy, attorney for defendant Matthews, said his testimony had been a lie.

PEDRO A. RIOS
The story was denied

NO MERCY: In court attorneys asked Judge Goldstein to hold off sentencing in view of Gennaro's retraction. Before the lawyers could have Gennaro put his retraction into an affidavit, the judge ordered Gennaro brought to court. He went into a private conference in the judge's chambers. Afterward the judge put him on the stand, at which time for the record he retracted his retraction.

The jury of 12 businessmen, in a courtroom charged with excitement over the nationalist shooting in Congress (which occurred in the trial's first week), found the government's case and the credibility of the witnesses so airtight that they refused to recommend mercy—making a death sentence mandatory.

BACKDROP: To Concepcion Estrada Correa a death sentence at 17 seemed the final turn of the screw. He was born in a hut of La Perla (The Pearl), a San Juan slum that stretches along the rocky shore between the Caribbean and the massive stone walls of a Spanish fortress. When he was four his mother died of tuberculosis. His father, Teodoro Estrada, was a longshoreman who spent most of his days on the grass of Del Valle Blvd. waiting in vain for work.

After his mother died Concepcion and his two-year-old sister Lucila went to live with their grandmother, Ambrosia Nieves. She already had seven children to care for and Concepcion would occasionally get lost, roaming San Juan, sleeping under bridges. He went only as far as the fourth grade in school.

Less than two years before the murder, Senora Nieves brought Concepcion to New York. He speaks no English, talks with the lawyer through an interpreter, now faces death in an alien land while lawyers fight an appeal he does not fully grasp. He says only he is innocent.

"RATHER DEFENSIVE": After his arrest Estrada was examined by psychiatrists at Bellevue. They wrote: "His responses reflected an impoverished cultural and educational background but did not assume the psychopathic level." He told doctors he had used heroin and marijuana for several months and had been arrested once before after a fight over a girl. The doctors noted as if in surprise: "When he recounts this he becomes rather excited and dramatic."

He told them the events of June 2-3. The doctors reported: "He gives approximately the same story as his co-defendant, Matthews, stating that the three boys went to visit girl friends and not finding them home stayed in the house. He denies that they met or assaulted an elderly woman as charged by the court. He tells the whole story in a rather defensive manner."

THE three defendants in the Anna Levy murder case were sentenced to die the week of May 10; sentence was stayed pending an appeal. Never before has a 17-year-old been sent to the chair in N.Y. County. (See GUARDIAN, 5/3, 5/10.)

Although offered the chance to save their lives by pleading guilty to a lesser crime, each has steadfastly maintained his innocence since coming into court. No Puerto Rican or Negro served on the jury. The U.S. Supreme Court earlier this month overturned the murder conviction of a Mexican-American in Texas because Mexican-Americans had been excluded from the jury panel. The point might figure in the N.Y. case.

ALP will nominate governor candidate and full state slate

THE American Labor Party sounded the keynote for its 1954 campaign before a crowd of 3,500 at New York's Manhattan Center Thurs., May 6. The crowd plainly came to cheer, sing, and take up the ALP banner again.

The ALP offered them a policy summed up on the stage backdrop: "Join the American Labor Party—Defend the New Deal Heritage—Defeat McCarthyism." How to do all three was the question. Paul L. Ross, chairman of the party's Council on Public Affairs, in a detailed statement on strategy and tactics, offered the ALP's recommendations.

He traced the party's 18-year history, recalled the "days when our former representative, Vito Marcantonio, stood alone in the halls of Congress and sought to stem the drive toward McCarthyism and war." He said the ALP hoped eventually to rally a coalition of Democrats and Liberals in a front against McCarthyism and its "New York brand, Deweyism," but "at this moment, it is difficult."

COALITION? It was, he said, "not now possible" for the ALP to make common cause with supporters of the bi-partisan "policy of military adventurism" who are at the same time "reluctant" to fight at home for an anti-depression program and against witch-hunts and persecutions. In this category he included "the leaders of the Democratic and Liberal parties and the main top trade union leaderships, with some honorable exceptions such as Potofsky, Ernst, Rosenblum. . . ."

PAUL ROSS
A campaign charted

Ross said that "in some

(Continued on Page 10)

Let Congress know

On March 29 Rep. Herman P. Eberharter (D-Pa.) for the second time strongly attacked in Congress the Atty. General's labeling as "subversive . . . any organization which he dislikes. . . . Mr. Brownell's notion of achievement is reckoned in terms of the number of individuals he has succeeded in kicking in the back when they were not looking. One is hardly likely to get a fair hearing before a man who is busy totaling the numbers of those whom he has found against, and then boasting about it.

"We can . . . look forward to the time when the Democratic Party and half of the Republican Party are added to the subversive list. . . . That is, we can look forward to that time, unless those of us who do not like it rise up here and now and say, 'We have had enough,' and will not let this thing go one step further."

Last week Brownell asked Congress for new laws against "communist-dominated" labor unions and business concerns. You can help stem the tide of arbitrary blacklisting by writing to Eberharter, distributing copies of his powerful speech, "Exercising Unbridled Power."

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American Labor Party policy statement on the '54 election campaign

Paul L. Ross, chairman of the American Labor Party's Council on Public Affairs, delivered the ALP's first key statement of policy in the 1954 campaign at Manhattan Center May 6. Here are excerpts:

THE ALP enters the 1954 election campaign determined to fight every manifestation of the program of McCarthyism, without regard to the political label it bears.

On the other hand, we will join forces, or fight independently along the same lines, with all those people and organizations who will fight McCarthyism, whatever segment of its program they may attack.

To share the struggle, we will not insist that others see eye to eye with us on every aspect of our campaign, as long as they are really fighting McCarthyism and opposing McCarthyite candidates. . . .

• • • •

WITH SUCH positive events taking place, there is only one path for the ALP to take. We must, as a political party, take the only course which can be effective—to shape the issues for the 1954 election and thereby to influence the choice of candidates by the Democratic and Liberal parties. That course is to adopt our own program,—nominate our own candidate for Governor and a whole state ticket—and to run a vigorous, fighting campaign. . . .

By carrying on our own active campaigns, we will stimulate and encourage action by the trade unions, the farmers upstate, and the Negro and Puerto Rican people everywhere, to enter and support candidates in the primaries of both the Democratic and Republican parties who subscribe to one or another aspect of a program to fight McCarthyism—or to oust a known McCarthyite from his present office. We have proven by our role in the campaign for expanded Negro and Puerto Rican representation in public office, over the years, that we can work conscientiously and unselfishly with other parties and groups to achieve an important objective.

When it comes to Congressional and legislative candidates, we shall examine the record of each candidate, whatever his political affiliation, and we shall determine our attitude toward him on the basis of his past record, and his commitment to fight one or another specific aspect of McCarthyism. We shall nominate our own candidates in those districts in which we shall determine that only by such nominations can we effectively carry out the main objectives of our fight against McCarthyism and Deweyism. . . .

HOW SHALL WE deal with the Democratic and Liberal parties and the trade unions which support them? We must expose the weaknesses of their programs and the inadequacies of their candidates, by our own campaign on the issues and by effective campaigning by our candidates, and thereby help to create a public opinion which will bring the Democratic and Liberal parties forcefully into the campaign against McCarthyism. . . .

If ultimately, the Democratic Party does not adopt an anti-McCarthyite program, and does not nominate candidates upon whom the voters can rely to carry out such a program, then it cannot hope to dethrone Deweyism. . . . If it has a reactionary, or a non-committal program, it will suffer the defeats it suffered in 1942, 1946 and 1950, with Bennett, Mead and Lynch.

But then some people tell us, that if we campaign vigorously, we will jeopardize the defeat of Deweyism. No, we will not.

Our experience has shown that when we campaign effectively on the issues we arouse many thousands of independent voters to participate in the elections. And when there is no real choice between the candidates of the other parties, many thousands can be persuaded to vote ALP.

The ALP pledges all its energies and all its resources to this campaign. We have every confidence that such a campaign can succeeed in achieving our two-fold objective—preservation of our place on the ballot, with a sizeable vote for our candidates—and the defeat of Deweyism.

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Date: Thurs., May 20, 8:30 p.m. sharp. Place: Capitol Hotel, 8th Av. at 51st St. Admission: In advance, $1; at door, $1.25. Write or phone for tickets to:
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Movie **"BORDER STREET"** plus speaker **YURI SUHL** on "McCarthyism." Honoring Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Great Central Palace, 90 Clinton St. Sun., May 16, 7 p.m. Admission: Free.

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ALP campaign

(Continued from Page 9)

areas" the record since President Roosevelt's death made as strong a case against the Democratic Party as against the GOP, but urged differentiation between reactionary Democrats and those who "however timidly" have urged an improved civil rights program. He referred to "some Democratic Senators [who] are even opposed to involvement in the Indo-China war," and contrasted Sen. Lehman with Farley, "symbol of McCarthyism."

"NOT STATIC": Chances for a working coalition were therefore small this year; but Ross described both the Democratic Party and the general situation as "not static," pointing to the people's resistance to Indo-China intervention, the revulsion against McCarthy in the Army hearings, the Coal-Steel-Teamsters alliance against Taft-Hartley and for a program to cope with unemployment.

For that reason the ALP would put a state ticket in the field; but in Congressional races it would name candidates only where no clear choice was provided among major party candidates. (The portion of Ross' speech dealing with the ALP's specific plans for 1954 is excerpted above.)

The ALP this year must win at least 50,000 votes for Governor to keep its place on the ballot. To survive as a political force, most observers agree it must substantially improve its tally of 60,000 last year.

DEFEND GOP LIBERTIES: Corliss Lamont, himself a McCarthy target, gave the rally a 25-point indictment of Congressional inquisitions, drew this lesson from the McCarthy-Army clash: progressives must "give our all to defend the civil liberties of Republicans."

Harry Sacher, attorney for the first Communist Party leaders tried under the Smith Act, whose disbarment was recently reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court, said of resistance to McCarthy:

"I do not see the Army as the defender of the civil liberties of the people. Rather I see the reflection of efforts of people like you who will not submit any longer to the suppression of liberties."

Of his own long fight and imprisonment he said: "I don't feel particularly martyred or particularly courageous. I come from people like you—the salt of the earth."

Clifford T. McAvoy, ALP candidate for Mayor in 1953, was chairman of the meeting.

ABT HONORED: The week before ALP's Manhattan Center meeting, 500 guests at $7.50 a plate joined the Progressive Party at the Hotel Commodore in New York in a testimonial to attorney John Abt, PP general counsel, on his 50th birthday. Paul Robeson sang; speakers were Vivian Hallinan, wife of the PP's imprisoned 1952 candidate; Hugh De Lacey, PP natl. secy. C. B. Baldwin, GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage, Louis Burnham, editor of **Freedom**; union leader Joseph Selly and Mr. Abt. The evening's proceedings are being edited into an LP record for distribution to PP branches and others throughout the country.

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TERRY ROSENBAUM'S STORY

A teacher's farewell

ON Friday afternoon, April 30, at Samuel J. Tilden High School in Brooklyn, students wept in the corridors. When called on in class to explain, their statements touched off explosions. Two girls were so upset they were sent home. The excitement stemmed from teacher Terry Rosenbaum's history classes, where the lesson was in current events. He was saying good-bye to his students; he explained that he was being fired because he defied Sen. McCarthy.

School officials who knew of Rosenbaum's impending dismissal, had kept word from him that Friday to prevent such student demonstrations. He would have gone quietly off for the weekend, never to return, if news of the firing had not leaked from sources outside.

TERRY ROSENBAUM
A last piece of advice

WHAT HE DID: Rosenbaum had taught high school history for 14 years, two at Tilden. He had never disguised his politics outside the classroom. He was active in the Brownsville ALP, had run for office on its ticket. In 1951, when Henry Fields, a Negro, was shot by a policeman for a minor traffic offense, Rosenbaum and another teacher joined the community-wide movement for justice. Both were questioned by the Board of Education. Assoc. Supt. of Schools Ernst asked them if they had ever been members of the Communist Party.

Rosenbaum, protesting the inquisition, nevertheless answered: No. Last Nov. 25, McCarthy, investigating Ft. Monmouth, called Rosenbaum. Rosenbaum's supposed connection with Monmouth was never made clear. He was never in the Army, never at Monmouth. He was asked if he knew certain teachers the committee named, if he had ever inducted any students into the CP, and the $64 question. He invoked the Fifth Amendment and, for that reason, was fired.

THE FAREWELL: Several weeks before his firing Rosenbaum's class had debated McCarthyism. One boy said he thought the Senator was the greatest guy in America and that the "only good communist was a dead communist." After Rosenbaum's farewell the boy came to him and said: "I made an awful mistake. If he can pick on you after all you've taught about democracy, he must be a phony."

In a farewell letter to 1,500 former students Rosenbaum wrote:

"All my life I have taught and spoken out for democracy. Could I urge others to fight McCarthyism, then surrender to it myself? Although I can not go back to my classes tomorrow, at heart I'm still a teacher. As your former teacher I want to offer you the best advice any history teacher ever gave his students. . . . I want you to remember what I told you so often in class—always use the principles of democracy in the Declaration of Independence to judge what is right and what is wrong. Cherish those principles. Defend them so that we may all enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

COURT VERDICT: Rosenbaum's dismissal came one week after the State Court of Appeals ruled, by a 4-3 vote, that under Section 903 of the City Charter the Board of Education could fire any teacher who failed to answer questions before a Congressional committee.

The decision climaxed a legal test by 14 teachers thus fired. Congressional probers have cost the jobs of 30 New York teachers.

Even the majority opinion was cautious, made it plain that the teachers could not be fired under the Feinberg Law "since no inference of membership in the Communist Party can be drawn from the assertion of one's privilege against self-incrimination." Judge Conway held that the Fifth Amendment was inapplicable since Section 903 says all city employes must answer all questions "regarding the property, government or affairs of the city. . . ."

NOT AUTHORIZED: Judge Desmond, for the minority, found the City Charter did not apply to the teachers since they were under State jurisdiction; that the Senate committees had not been "authorized to conduct an inquiry into the property, affairs and government of the city or the official conduct of its officers and employes."

Judge Desmond recalled that Section 903 had been written as the result of the 1932 Seabury investigation and plainly contemplated a New York committee investigating city government. He cited precedent to show that "statutes, directed against known and stated evils, are not to be stretched to cover situations having no real or reasonable relation to those evils."

All judges agreed that "the teachers could not be deprived of their positions for exercising their Fifth Amendment right." Still, Rosenbaum and 30 others are out of jobs, charged with no other offense.

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AT WHITE LAKE LODGE

Lionel Stander, movie and stage star, will direct social and cultural activities at White Lake Lodge this year. He will be assisted by Tony Kraber, former special events director for CBS. For Decoration Day weekend, Stander and Kraber will present Anton Chekov's "The Boor" and Sean O'Casey's "The One Pound Note."

PASSPORT FIGHT

Robeson salute Wed., May 26

A CAMPAIGN to restore Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad will be opened with a cultural salute to the singer Wed. eve., May 26, at the Renaissance Casino, 138th St. and 7th Av.

Since the State Dept. withdrew Robeson's passport in 1950, he has been prevented from accepting concert bids in many parts of the world, including London, offers to do "Othello" and the lead in Moussorgski's "Boris Goudonov." Robeson contends the denial of travel abroad violates his right of free speech and, by denying him opportunity to work, violates the right to property under the Fifth Amendment.

Artists who will appear at the concert include: the American String Quartet, singer Leon Bibb, pianists Lawrence Brown and Alan Booth; singers Nadyne Brewer, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Margaret McCaden, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Tony Kraber; pianist Frances Walker; poet Beulah Richardson, actress and writer Alice Childress; artist Charles White.

Tickets are $1 from Comm. for a Cultural Salute, 139 W. 125th St., Suite 6, MO 6-8700.

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JEWISH CHORUS

Sholem Aleichem Suite premiere

THE Jewish Young People's Chorus will present the premiere of Serge Hovey's "Sholom Aleichem Suite" as the feature of their third annual concert, 8:30 p.m., Sat., May 22, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. The work for chorus and orchestra, growing out of the music for the theater production of **The World of Sholom Aleichem,** was written in collaboration with JYPC conductor Robert De Cormier and Herschel Bernardi. It will be recorded by the chorus for distribution by Rachel Productions, producers of the play at the Barbizon Plaza. Readings by Bernardi (of the play's cast), the choral work "Jefferson and Liberty," and Negro and Jewish folk and labor songs complete the program.

Starting as a small group in the East Bronx in 1951, the chorus is now a 150-voice organization with an advanced workshop and six branches—two each in Brooklyn and the Bronx, and groups in Washington Heights and the East Side. Meeting on Sunday afternoons in local community centers, the chorus has performed for many trade union and community functions.

Despite its name, its members are non-professional singers between 15 and 30 of all religions, races and nationalities; 30 are not Jewish, 15 are Negro. Last year the chorus sang at America's oldest Negro college, Lincoln Univ., Oxford, Pa., and was host to Lincoln's glee club here.

Tickets for the concert ($1.10, $1.65, $2.20, $3.30) are available at the Academy of Music box office, or by mail from Lester Simon, 2758 Cruger Av., Bronx 67. (Checks payable to David M. Bernstein.)

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Events for Children

Films

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway Parkway & Wash. Av. **The River,** 3:30 p.m., Sun., May 23. Documentary film in connection with collections & exhibitions in the Museum. Free.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Pk. W. & 79th St. **Louis Pasteur,** 2 p.m., Sat., May 22. Free.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. **Booker T. Washington; Angry Boy; Baltimore Plan** (housing discrimination), 2 p.m., Sat., May 22. Free.

N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDENS, Bronx Park, N.Y. **Africa—Charming But Unpredictable,** Pt. 2, 3:30 p.m., Sat., May 22. Free.

MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Strangers from Afar & Younger Generation,** Sat., May 22, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

MONTAGUE LIBRARY BRANCH, 197 Montague St., B'klyn. **Marine Life & A Circus Wakes Up,** 4 p.m., Thurs., May 20. Free.

Miscellaneous

STORY HOURS: Animal Stories, by Janet Pinney. Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. 2 p.m., Sat., May 15.

B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Sats., 11:30 a.m.

B'klyn Public Library, Carroll Park Br., 396 Clinton Av. **Summer at Buckhorn,** 4 p.m., Thurs., May 20. Recorded by WMCA, broadcast Sat., May 22, 9:30 a.m.

ART EXHIBIT: Art program from kindergarten through high school in the schools of New York City. Presented by Bd. of Education, N. Y. C. Work shown includes ceramics, drawing, painting, construction and in fields of design. Amer. Museum of Natural History, Central Park W. at 79th St. May 6-June 23.

B'KLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY BRANCHES: Parent Pre-School Group, films & talks. **Your Child and the New School Program,** 2 p.m., Thurs., May 20, Mapleton Br., 6105 18th Av.; **Younger Generation & Sandy Steps Out,** 2 p.m., Tues., May 25, Highlawn Br., 1721 W. 6th St.

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• MRS. SAMUEL COLEMAN
• RALPH POWE, attorney
THURS., MAY 20 — 8 P.M. ADELPHI HALL
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Auspices: Civil Rights Congress, 6 E. 17th St., New York 3

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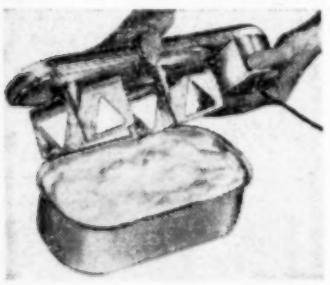

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the SPECTATOR

The dry walls of Hollywood

EVERY NOW AND AGAIN we are reminded that there are in Hollywood conscientious craftsmen who want their work to serve a more useful and dignified end than pushing up the box-office and popcorn-counter grosses. Such mavericks may be allowed to talk, even if what they say is little heeded by the powers.

To those who regard motion pictures as a medium of cultural exchange—in America and between nations—the Academy Awards have an incestuous look compared with the scope of the international film competitions held each year at Cannes, Venice and Berlin. Cameramen's Local 59 of the IATSE, powerful union of all technicians in the entertainment field, is agitating for the U. S. to play host at an international film festival in 1955. The show business weekly **Variety** is pessimistic about the chances. It said:

> "In the U. S. the government can't be expected to provide coin and the U. S. [movie] industry isn't sufficiently interested in long-range progress to fork over the money."

While the origin of the specie is a consideration, it is not the main one. If the festival idea were consistent with foreign policy, as reluctant as the Treasury is made out to be, some silver could be scrambled together for the project by turning Treasury Secy. George Magoffin Humphrey upside down and shaking him (no remarks, please). More important to the sub-Dulles mentality is the nature of the pictures which would have to pass the Customs. Among the 36 nations entering the lists at Cannes last month were the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland. If biologists and chess players can't make our shores, certainly the odds are against motion pictures which might show men valuing plows above war shares.

HOLLYWOOD'S ATTITUDE toward foreign film production matches ignorance with arrogance. Don Hartman, exec. producer of Paramount, returning from Europe last week, said:

> "Italian, French and other producers still don't represent any threat to Hollywood and I can't see the time when they will. What it is I can't put my finger on, but these producers in other countries haven't been able to put into their pictures the ingredients which people around the world really want."

American pictures have won no contest for superior quality. Through governmental agreements and arrangements we merely have compelled other countries to accept a large quota of Hollywood output at the expense of their own film industries. And the "ingredients" of these movies have been so disgracefully unrepresentative of American life that they have contributed toward changing the slogan from "Americans, go home" to "Americans, stay home!"

One expects an executive producer to brag about good business. But when Mr. Hartman, whose principal contribution to motion picture art has been writing scripts for the Bing Crosby-Bob Hope stories about the "Road to So-and-So," sounds off on art . . . well let the man speak for himself:

> "The producers overseas, in their accent on realism, simply show the commonplace. People need only to open their windows to see the same thing. . . . The fact that our pictures are commercial successes doesn't mean they are less art. Actually they are art and make money as well. . . . Where's the art in showing a little boy wetting upon a wall, as in **Bicycle Thief**?"

AT A CELEBRATION of the 35th anniversary of United Artists, held under the auspices of the Museum of Modern Art at the home of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III, the guest of honor was Lillian Gish. Refreshing are the words she spoke, which later went out over the NBC radio network:

> "I found myself referring to United Artists as United Nations all the time and you know there is a reason for that, because United Artists and all the films put together can do more for the United Nations than any other one medium in the world. . . . Now that you [UA] are 35 years old, perhaps this is your "Bar Mitzvah" [confirmation]. You can accept the responsibility of your manhood and take on with the United Nations the task of making a better world, and let's hope so. . ."

AND THE HEAVENS DIDN'T COLLAPSE

U. S. film star Shelley Winters (c.) at the Cannes festival has a bit of fun, with costumed dolls, with Soviet film star Klara Lutsko (l.) and Soviet director Alexandroff.